

Message Text

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ACTION PRS-01

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 SP-02

SS-15 OMB-01 ACDA-10 MC-02 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00

INRE-00 AF-08 ERDA-07 FEA-01 OES-06 /094 W

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O 072045Z AUG 76 ZFF6

FM USDEL SECRETARY IN TEHRAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY KABUL IMMEDIATE

USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 SECTO 20064

FOLLOWING TEL IS REPEAT IN SECTO SERIES PER SS, TEHRAN 7952
AUG 7.

UNCLASSIFIED SECTION 1 OF 3 TEHRAN 7952

FOR S/PRS, DEPT PASS NSC FOR SCROWCROFT, WHITE HOUSE FOR NESSEN

KABUL FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

USIA FOR IPS AND IBS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A)

SUBJ: PRESS CONFERENCE: SHAH OF IRAN AND HENRY A KISSINGER,
NOWSHAHR, IRAN, AUGUST 6, 1976

NOTE: TEXT SHOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE TO PRESS AT DEP-
ARTMENT BUT SHOULD NOT BE ISSUED AS A RELEASE (WITH EXCEPTION OF
SECRETARY' ANSWER).

FOLLOWING IS A VERBATIM TRANSCRIP OF A PRESS CONFERENCE
HELD THIS AFTERNOON BY HIS IMPERIAL MAHESTY, THE SHAHANSHAH
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OF IRAN WITH SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER AND A NUMBER OF

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AMERICAN PRESS.

Q: MAY I BEGIN BY THANKING YOU FOR RECEIVING US. WE ARE VERY PLEASED THAT YOU HAVE AGREED TO SEE US FOR A DISCUSSION OF IRANIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

WE ARE VERY HAPPY AND GRATIFIED FOR THE HOSPITALITY WE HAVE RECEIVED IN YOUR COUNTRY.

THE FIRST QUESTION I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU, YOUR MAJESTY, RELATES TO THE QUESTION OF AMERICAN ARMS SALES TO IRAN.

AS YOU KNOW, AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS WEEK THE SENATE ISSUED A REPORT THAT IS QUITE CRITICAL OF VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THIS ARMS PROGRAM; SPECIFICALLY, THIS REPORT CHARGES THAT IRAN HAS BOUGHT MORE ARMS THAN IT CAN FEASIBLY ABSORB AT THIS POINT, AND THAT THIS PROGRAM HAS BEEN MISMANAGED AND IS OUT OF CONTROL, AND I WOULD VERY MUCH APPRECIATE TO KNOW YOUR COMMENT ON THAT CHARGE.

A: SHAH: AS FAR AS I KNOW, I THINK WE HAVE ABSORBED THESE ARMS SO FAR --EASILY-- VERY EASILY. WHATEVER WE WILL GET IN THE FUTURE WILL ALSO BE ABSORBED. MAYBE, IN THE FIRST DAYS BY HIRING OF SOME SKILLED CIVILIANS OF YOUR COMPANIES FABRICATING THOSE ARMS LIKE--EVENTUALLY GRUMMAN PEOPLE OR THE BELL COMPANY--HELICOPTER--AND OTHERWISE. BUT, THE NUMBER OF YOUR MILITARY PEOPLE HERE IN THE MAAG WORKING WITH US HAS NOT INCREASED AT ALL IN THE LAST YEARS AS FAR AS I KNOW.

Q: BUT THIS REPORT ALSO POINTS OUT THAT THIS SORT OF PROGRAM REQUIRES A GREAT AMOUNT OF FOLLOW-ON ATTENTION AND IT PROJECTS THAT BY 1980 THERE MIGHT BE 50,000 OR MORE AMERICANS IN IRAN-- A SUBJECT OF SOME CONCERN TO THE U.S. SHOULD IRAN BECOME INVOLVED IN A CONFLICT IN THIS REGION.

A: SHAH: FIRST OF ALL, I DON'T THINK YOUR FIGURES ARE VERY CORRECT--THEY COULD BE PROVIDED TO YOU THROUGH YOUR PEOPLE OR OUR PEOPLE IN WASHINGTON. WHAT THEY TALK ABOUT PROBABLY IS ABOUT--THE FIGURE IS MUCH LESS THAN THAT--THE UNCLASSIFIED

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MAN, WIFE AND CHILDREN ALL PUT TOGETHER. BUT, I HAVE A QUESTION TO ASK IN RETURN. CAN THE U.S. OR THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD AFFORD TO LOSE IRAN? WHAT WILL YOU DO IF ONE DAY IRAN WILL BE IN DANGER OF COLLAPSING? DO YOU HAVE ANY CHOICE?

MR. KISSINGER: YOUR MAJESTY, I ALSO BELIEVE THAT I AT LEAST HAD NOT UNDERSTOOD IT WOULD BE THOUGHT THAT THE NUMBERS THAT ARE USED INCLUDE MOSTLY CIVILIANS WORKING ON CIVILIAN PROJECTS

AND NOT ON MILITARY (SHSH, YES, THAT'S TRUE.), AND I THINK THAT IS IMPORTANT TO POINT OUT.

Q: WHEN YOU RAISE THAT QUESTION, IS IT A LEGITIMATE QUESTION IN THOSE TERMS? DOES IT COME DOWN TO A MATTER OF HAVEING 25 OR 30 OR 50,000 AMERICAN HERE OR HAVING ALL THE SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS YOU'RE BUYING, OR THE POSSIBLE COLLAPSE OF IRAN? IS IT ONLY BETWEEN THOSE TWO EXTREMES?

A: SHAH: FIRST OF ALL, THE NUMBER IS NOT CORRECT. THAT'S ONE FACT FOR SURE. SECOND, YES, I THINK THAT YOU ARE NOT PURSUING A POLICY OF STANDING BY YOUR FRIENDS WHO ARE SPENDING THEIR OWN MONEY AND ARE READY TO SPEND THEIR OWN BLOOD FOR THE SAKE OF THEIR COUNTRY, IT'S SURE, BUT AT THE SAME TIME IT IS ALSO IN THE INTERST OF WHAT IS CALLED THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD. WHAT OTHER ALTERNATIVE DO YOU HAVE? EITHER ALL OUT NUCLEAR HOLOCOUST, ANOTHER VIETNAM IS ON YOUR HANDS, EVERY NOW AND THEN.

Q: THE REASON FOR MY QUESTION, YOUR MAJESTY, WAS WHETHER IN FACT THE QUANTITIES OF WEAPONS THAT YOU'RE BUYING ARE ESSENTIAL TO IRAN. (SHAH: OH YES, I SEE.) WHERE DOES THE THREAT LIE? I REMEMBER THE LAST TIME THAT WE WERE HERE YOU SUGGESTED THE SOVIET UNION. ARE THERE OTHER THREATS THAT HAVE GROWN IN THE PAST 18 MONTHS?

A: SHAH: THE QUESTION IS THAT I CANNOT DENOMINATE ANY FOREIGN COUNTRY. IT'S JUST THE DEFENSE OF THIS COUNTRY. DO YOU PAY ENOUGH ATTENTION THAT SOME OF THE COUNTRIES WHICH BORDER US WITH LESS THAN ONE-THIRD OF OUR POPULATION HAVE AS MUCH TANKS AND AIRCRAFT AS WE HAVE? SO I SHOULD TELL YOU THAT WE HAVE THREE TIMES LESS, THAN WHAT WE SHOULD HAVE. YOU REALIZE THAT AROUND US THERE ARE M-16 23 OR 25 PLANS THAT ARE AS A MATTER UNCLASSIFIED

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OF FACT FLYING?

Q: YOUR MAJESTY, AT WHAT POINT DO CIVILIAN TECHNICIANS WHOM YOU HIRE FROM GRUMMAN OR LOCKHEED BECOME IN EFFECT MERCENARIES THAT YOU FIND ESSENTIAL TO OPERATE YOUR WEAPONS?

A: SHAH: THEY ARE NOT MERCENARIES AT ALL. THEY CAN QUIT WHEN THEY WANT. ONE OF THE CONDITIONS IS THAT IF WE ARE INVOLVED IN WAR THEY WILL NOT BE FORCED TO RENDER ANY SERVICE IF THEY LIKE.

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PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 SP-02

SS-15 OMB-01 ACDA-10 MC-02 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00

INRE-00 AF-08 ERDA-07 FEA-01 OES-06 /094 W

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O 072045Z AUG 76 ZFF6

FM USDEL SECRETARY IN TEHRAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY KABUL IMMEDIATE

USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 3 SECTO 20064

FOLLOWING TEL IS REPEAT IN SECTO SERIES PER SS, TEHRAN 7952
AUG 7.

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 3 TEHRAN 7952

QUESTION: THIS IS A CONDITION IN THEIR CONTRACTS?

ANSWER: SHAH: THIS IS A CONDITION EITHER IN THE CONTRACT OR
IT IS UNDERSTOOD BETWEEN US.

QUESTION: BUT THEY MIGHT FIND THEMSELVES IN A HOSTAGE SORT
OF SITUATION IN A COUNTRY WHICH--THEORETICALLY NOW I AM SPEAKING--
INVOLVED IN A CONFLICT, AND PRESSURE WITHIN THE U.S. WOULD
GO UP AND BE INTERESTED AND CONCERNED ABOUT THEIR SECURITY
IN THE COUNTRY.

ANSWER: SHAH: HOSTAGE IN WHAT SENSE IF MY COUNTRY IS OCCUPIED
COMPLETELY, THEN 34 MILLION IRANIANS WILL BE HOSTAGES TOO. AND,
I DON'T KNOW IF YOUR PEOPLE WILL BE HOSTAGES OR NOT BECAUSE THE
FORCES OF OCCUPATION IF THEY HAVE ORDINARY DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS
WITH YOU, THEY CAN'T TAKE THEM AS HOSTAGES.

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Q: ARE YOU CONCERNED, YOUR MAJESTY, OVER THE POLITICAL TRENDS IN THE U.S. THAT SUCH A REPORT COULD COME OUT OF THE SENATE, THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE?

A: SHAH: THE REPORT I THINK IS NOT AS BAD AS SOME PEOPLE WANT TO REPRESENT IT. THE QUESTION IS THAT WE ARE A SOVEREIGN COUNTRY. WE ARE LOOKING AFTER OUR DEFENSE AS YOU DO, AS THE SOVIETS DO, AS THE FRENCH OR GERMANS, OR OTHER DO. LET ME TELL YOU THIS; IN 10 TO 12 YEARS TIME WE SHALL BE WHAT FRANCE OR GERMANY OR ENGLAND IS TODAY, SO WE HAVE THE SAME BASIC RIGHTS THAT YOU HAVE TO DEFEND OUR COUNTRY. WE ARE THE ONLY JUDGE OF WHAT WE NEED OR NOT. IF YOU SUPPLY US WITH WHAT WE NEED, OK, WE ARE VERY HAPPY, WE ARE VERY HAPPY WITH YOU, WE HAVE HAD SUCH GOOD RELATIONS FOR SUCH A LONG TIME, THEN, WE TRUST YOU. IF YOUR SOURCES ARE NOT AVAILABLE TO US, THERE ARE MANY OTHER SOURCES IN THE WORLD, JUST WAITING FOR THE MOMENT FOR US TO GO AND SHOP IN THEIR SHOPS.

Q: YOUR MAJESTY, A COUPLE OF MINUTES AGO YOU MADE A REFERENCE TO HAVING OR NEEDING IN SOME YEARS, THREE TIMES MORE WEAPONS THAT YOU HAVE RIGHT NOW. I WONDER IF YOU MEANT THAT QUITE LITERALLY?

A: SHAH: I SAID IF YOU ASKED THE QUESTION DO YOU NEED THESE MANY WEAPONS MY ANSWER IS YES BECAUSE COUNTRIES ONE THIRD OF OUR SIZE AND POPULATION HAVE ALMOST AS MUCH.

Q: YOU SAID THAT YOU HAVE ONE THIRD THE AMOUNT THAT YOU NEED. DID YOU MEAN THAT LITERALLY?

A: SHAH: IF YOU WANT TO MAKE A COMPARISON, A PER CAPITA COMPARISON, YES.

Q: YOUR MAJESTY, HOW ARE YOUR PLANS PROCEEDING IN TERMS OF THE BARTER OF OIL FOR SOME OF THE WEAPONS YOU HAVE BEEN PROGRAMMING FOR. IS THIS A VERY LIVELY TOPIC RIGHT NOW?

A: SHAH: OH INDEED. OIL WITH US IS BECOMING A COMMODITY THAT WE CONSIDER A A TRADING COMMODITY. WE SELL OIL, WE BUY THINGS. WHY NOT?

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Q: HAVE YOU RUN INTO TROUBLE IN WORKING OUT THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THIS?

A: SHAH: TROUBLE I CAN'T SAY, BUT NEGOTIATIONS ARE CONTINUING.

Q: HAVE YOU FOUND SUPPORT FROM THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN THIS?

A: SHAH: THEY ARE NOT INVOLVED. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IS NOT INVOLVED, THIS IS PRIVATE.

Q: BUT THERE IS ALWAYS THE POSSIIBILITY THAT THE AMERICAN CONGRESS WOULD GET INTERESTED IN SUCH A DEAL AND ATTEMPT TO INTERFERE IN IT, SO I THINK ONE CANNOT SAY THAT THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT WILL NOT BE INVOLVED IN IT.

A: SHAH: THEN WE SHALL SEE. FIRST OF ALL, I DON'T SEE THAT THIS IS WITHIN YOUR JURISDICTION OF A SO-CALLED FREE ECONOMY TO INTERFERE, BUT IF IT IS, WE SHALL SEE IN WHICH WAY YOUR CONGRESS WILL INTERFERE, AND IN WHICH WAY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO RESPOND. IF IT IS SATISFACTORY TO US, SO MUCH FOR THE BETTER. IF NOT, AGAIN I TOLD YOU, WE HAVE MANY CHOICES.

Q: DO YOU HAVE THE FEELING NOW THAT THIS BARTER ARRANGEMENT WILL BE SUCCESSFUL, THAT YOU WILL COMPLETE SOME?

Q: HOW WOULD THE PRICE BE SET, SIR, ON SUCH A DEAL?

A: SHAH: THE PRICE, WE HAVE THE POSTED PRICE, OBVIOUSLY.

Q: YOU WOULD CHARGE THEM POSTED PRICE ON A BARTER DEAL?

A: SHAH: WE CAN'T DO OTHERWISE.

Q: IS THERE ANY DANGER THAT THE UNITED STATES IS BECOMING OVER INVOLVED IN IRAN BECAUSE OF MILITARY PROGRAMS?

A: SHAH: THIS IS SOMETHING FOR YOUR OWN PEOPLE TO ANSWER. MY QUESTION IS AGAIN THE SAME. CAN YOU OR THE REST OF THE FREE WORLD AFFORT TO LOSE IRAN AS A FREE COUNTRY?
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Q: YOUR MAJESTY, HAS YOUR GOVERNMENT YET, OR DOES IT HAVE ANY INTENTION OF GIVING, SENDING OR SELLING ARMS EITHER TO SOUTH AFRICA OR RHODESIA?

A: SHAH: NO* I WAS REALLY SHOCKED WHEN I SAW THAT IN AN AMERICAN NEWSPAPER; I DON'T KNOW HOW THEY INVENTED THIS STORY, WHICH IS COMPLETELY UNTRUE. FIRST OF ALL, IT IS UNTRUE. SECONDLY, OUR BASIC AFRICAN POLICY IS FOR MAJORITY RULE. EVERYBODY KNOWS THAT, AND WE HAVE DECLARED THIS OFFICIALLY. SO, HOW COULD THEY INVENT A STORY LIKE THIS. WE HAVE BEEN RATHER SHOCKED BY THIS STORY. A PURE INVENTION, I THINK.

Q: YOUR MAJESTY, COULD YOU ADDRESS YOURSELF TO YOUR NUCLEAR ENERGY PROGRAM AND YOUR DESIRE TO BUY EIGHT REACTORS FROM THE UNITED STATES, AND SPECIFICALLY THE PROBLEM WITH THE UNITED STATES OVER THE SAFEGUARDS AND THE FUEL REPROCESS.

A: SHAH: YES, EIGHT OR TEN THAT REMAIN TO BE DISCUSSED. OUR OVERALL PROGRAM IS BETWEEN 23 AND 25,000 MEGAWATTS OF ATOMIC ENERGY ELECTRICITY, KWU. WE ARE A SIGNATORY OF THE NPT, AND WE WILL STICK TO THIS BECAUSE WE HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO PLANS OF BECOMING ATOMIC--MILITARYWISE, ABSOLUTELY NONE. AND WE WILL CONCUR IN EVERYTHING THAT WILL BE DONE IN THE WORLD TO TRY TO PREVENT THE PROLIFERATION OF THIS TO EVERY INDIVIDUAL SINGLE COUNTRY. IT WOULD BE REALLY SILLY IF MASSES OF COUNTRIES WILL BE IN POSSESSION OF TWO OR THREE SILLY LITTLE BOMBS. SO, WE ARE AGREEABLE TO, IF A REPROCESSING PLANT IS NEEDED IN THIS REGION, HAVE IT ON A MULTI-NATIONAL BASIS. THIS IS AGREEABLE WITH US.

Q: BUT, HOW ABOUT THE QUESTION OF THE OTHER SAFEGUARDS, TO INSURE THAT PREPROCESSED FUEL AND PLUTONIUM IS NOT DIVERTED INTO WEAPONS PROGRAMS?

A: SHAH: WELL, ALTHOUGH WE ARE A SIGNATORY OF THE NPT, WHATEVER SAFEGUARDS THAT WILL BE GIVEN WHICH WILL NOT TRESPASS ON OUR NATIONAL RIGHTS AND SOVEREIGNTY, WE WILL GIVE IT VERY EASILY, WILLINGLY.

Q: DOES THIS MEAN NOW THAT THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THIS UNCLASSIFIED

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NUCLEAR AGREEMENT CAN BE WORKED OUT? I UNDERSTOOD THAT THERE HAD BEEN A DELAY DUE TO THE PROBLEM OF MULTI-NATIONAL USE OF A PROCESSING PLANT? CAN WE EXPECT AN AGREEMENT VERY SOON?

A: SHAH: I DON'T KNOW REALLY IF THIS IS THE REASON FOR THE DELAY, BECAUSE THE DEAL DOES NOT MENTION THE REPROCESSING PLANT, THE DEAL MENTIONS ONLY ENRICHED URANIUM. I THINK WE CAN SEPARATE THE TWO THINGS FROM EACH OTHER.

Q: DOES THAT MEAN, SIR, THAT THE DEAL IS ABOUT TO BE CONCLUDED?

A: I CAN'T SAY THAT, BECAUSE I THINK TOMORROW THE DISCUSSIONS WILL START. (KISSINGER: THAT'S CORRECT.)

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INRE-00 AF-08 ERDA-07 FEA-01 OES-06 CCO-00 /094 W

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O 072045Z AUG 76 ZFF6

FM USDEL SECRETARY IN TEHRAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY KABUL IMMEDIATE

USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 3 SECTO 20064

FOLLOWING TEL IS REPEAT IN SECTO SERIES PER SS, TEHRAN 7952
AUG 7.

UNCLAS FINAL SECTION OF 3 TEHRAN 7952

Q: YOUR MAJESTY, WHAT ARE SOME OF THE SAFEGUARDS THAT
YOU FEEL MAY INFRINGE UPON YOUR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY?

A: SHAH: WHAT WILL SPECIFICALLY BE ASKED FROM ONE
COUNTRY IF IT IS ON AN INTERNATIONAL BASIS IS OKAY WIT US.
HOW COME THAT ONLY YOU, FOR INSTANCE, SHOULD PICK OUT MY
COUNTRY AND ASK US TO GIVE YOU THOSE ASSURANCES WHEN WE HAVE
ALREADY SIGNED THE NPT? BUT ANYTHING THAT WILL NOT INFRINGE
UPON OUR SOVEREIGNTY, WE WILL GIVE IT WILLINGLY. WHY NOT?

Q: ARE THERE ANY PARTICULAR OBSTACLES RIGHT NOW?

A: WELL, LET US SEE THE NEXT ROUND OF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN
OUR PEOPLE AND YOURS, BECAUSE SO FAR I THINK PROGRESS HAS BEEN
MADE. LET US SEE THE LATES ROUND OF DISCUSSIONS, AND THEN
HAVE SOME NEW IDEAS ABOUT THE SUBJECT.

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Q: MAY I GO BACK TO THE BARTER ARRANGEMENT BRIEFLY.
WILL IRAN OFFER SOME DIRECT OR INDICRECT PRICE CONCESSIONS
ON OIL IN ORDER TO MAKE THE BARTER ARRANGEMENTS ATTRACTIVE
TO THE AMERICAN COMPANIES INVOLVED?

A: SHAH: FIRST OF ALL, WE ARE NOT THAT BROKE, ET. WE
ARE BORROWING MONEY TO HELP OTHER COUNTRIES, THIS IS THE TRUTH.
WE HAVE COMMITTED OURSELVES SO MUCH TO HELPING OTHER COUNTRIES:
EGYPT, INDIA AND WILLINGLY--AND MANY AFRICAN COUNTRIES, THAT
TO HONOR ENGAGEMENTS, MAYBE WE SHALL HAVE TO GO AND BORROW MONEY,
AND WE'LL DO IT GLADLY, BECAUSE WE KNOW THAT OVER THE YEARS
WE CAN GET ENOUGH WEALTH--REVENUES WHICH WILL BE SUFFICIENT
BOTH FOR US AND FRIENDS. BUT WE ARE NOT YET BROKE ENOUGH
TO BE FORCED TO PAY--I WOULDN'T SAY BLACKMAIL PRICES,
BUT FORCED PRICES.

Q: DO YOU FEEL THAT THE SHORT SUPPLY IS ENOUGH
ATTRACTION FOR THE AMERICAN COMPANIES INVOLVED WITH NO
PRICE BENEFITS?

A: SHAH: SURE, YES, ALSO A SECURE SOURCE OF SUPPLY.
YOU KNOW THAT MY COUNTRY NEVER PARTICIPATED IN ANY EMBARGO.

Q: YOUR MAJESTY, GIVEN THE UNITED STATES EXPERIENCE
WITH VIETNAM AND ANGOLA, DO YOU HAVE ANY FEAR ABOUT THE
WILLINGNESS ABOUT THE UNITED STATES TO HONOR ITS COMMITMENTS
ELSEWHERE AROUND THE WORLD WITHOUT INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
PROBLEMS? ARE YOU WORRIED AT ALL THAT THE UNITED STATES, IF
YOU GOT INTO A TOUGH SITUATION, MIGHT NOT BE ABLE TO HELP YOU
AS MUCH AS YOU WOULD LIKE TO BE HELPED?

A: SHAH: I DON'T THINK SO. PERSONALLY, I CANNOT ALLOW
MYSELF TO HAVE ONE SECOND OF DOUBT. NOT BECAUSE YOU HAVE ANY
ENGAGEMENTS OR NOT, BECAUSE YOU COULD AFFORD IT, REALLY.
BUT IN THE WORD OF THE UNITED STATES AND FRIENDSHIP. SO FAR
WE ALWAYS HAVE TO CONGRATULATE OURSELVES IN THE FRIENDSHIP OF
YOUR COUNTRY.

Q: AS YOU LOOK AT THE AMERICAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN, WHAT
DO YOU FORESEE IN THE FUTURE? DO YOU SEE ANY CHANGE IN AMERICAN
FOREIGN POLICY IF THE ADMINISTRATION SHOULD CHANGE?
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A: SHAH: WELL, OBVIOUSLY, IT IS NOT A VERY EASY QUESTION
FOR A FOREIGNER TO ANSWER, BUT I DOUBT IF A GREAT POWER
COULD REALLY HAVE TWO, THREE, FOUR, FIVE VARIATIONS OF
POLICIES, BECAUSE THE RESPONSIBILITIES ARE SO GREAT AND THE
POLICIES THAT HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED OVER THE YEARS AND THE
ESTABLISHED BASES OF THOSE POLICIES ARE SO--EITHER LEGITIMATE OR

SO PROFOUND OR SO WISE THAT TO CHANGE THEM WOULD BE TO CHANGE ENTIRELY THE AMERICAN FRAME OF MIND--MENTALITY--AND THIS WILL HAVE SUCH UNFORESEEN AND ENORMOUS CONSEQUENCES, I SHIVER EVEN TO THINK OF IT.

Q: DO YOU THINK THERE IS ANY PROSPECT OF FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE NEAR FUTURE?

A: SHAH: YES AND NO, DEPENDING ON HOW THE SITUATION WILL DEVELOP. I HOPE THAT, OBVIOUSLY THERE WILL BE PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS, BECAUSE UNTIL NOW OUR POLICY HAS BEEN THAT THESE THINGS SHOULD BE SETTLED THROUGH PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS BASED ON THE 242 AND 338 RESOLUTIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS. SO, I'M ALWAYS HOPEFUL AND WILL TRY TO WORK FOR THAT, BUT MANY THINGS DEPEND ON LITTLE EVENTS HERE AND THERE. I COULDN'T SAY FOR SURE BUT THIS IS MY HOPE ANYWAY.

Q: YOUR MAJESTY, YOU'LL HAVE TO FORGIVE MY ASKING WHAT I KNOW IS A DISTASTEFUL QUESTION IN TERMS OF ALMOST EVERY TIME YOU MEET WITH JOURNALISTS AND THAT IS THE QUESTION OF EXCESSIVE VIOLENCE BY YOUR SECRET POLICE HERE. JUST RECENTLY THERE WAS A SURVEY DONE BY SOME INTERNATIONAL JURISTS, WHO PRESUMABLY ARE A RELATIVELY OBJECTIVE GROUP AND THEIR FINDINGS SEEMED TO CONFIRM WHAT OTHERS HAVE TERMED TO BE THE FACTS. I WONDER IF YOU WOULD REACT TO THIS.

A: SHAH: WELL, IT IS ALWAYS HARD TO CONFIRM WHAT OTHER PEOPLE HAVE CHARGED IN THE PAST. THIS FELLOW WHO IS NOW LECTURING IN SOME OF YOUR CAMPUSES, HE USED TO BE AN AGENT OF OUR SECRET POLICE HIMSELF. DID YOU KNOW THAT?

Q: NO, WHAT IS HIS NAME? WHO'S THAT?

A: SHAH: BARAHANI OR SOMETHING LIKE THAT. I DON'T KNOW.
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WHO CARES ABOUT HIS NAME. YOU KEEP ON CONTINUING TO SAY THAT WE HAVE THE SAVAK FOR SOME PEOPLE GO AS FAR AS SAYING THAT IT HAS 3,000,000 ENROLLED MEMBERS. THE REPORT OF THAT COMMISSION WAS SPEAKING ABOUT 200,000 AND WE CAN KEEP ON SAYING THAT THE NUMBER OF OUR SECRET SERVICES ARE ONLY 3,000, EVENTUALLY 3,300. BUT YOU KEEP ON SAYING IT IS 200 OR IN THE MILLIONS. YOU KEEP ON SAYING THAT WE HAVE SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSAND POLITICAL PRISONERS AND WE KEEP ON SAYING THAT WE HAVE ONLY 3,400 OR 3,500 PRISONERS, BUT THEY ARE NOT POLITICAL PRISONERS, THESE ARE MARXISTS, EITHER TERRORISTS, KILLERS OR JUST PEOPLE WHO OWE NO ALLEGIANCE TO THIS COUNTRY AND HAVE GIVEN THEIR PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE TO OTHER PEOPLE, THAN THEIR OWN COUNTRY. HOW LONG ARE YOU GOING TO CONTINUE TO SAY AND REPEAT THE SAME SILLY QUESTIONS? I -- FORGIVE ME IF I SAY SILLY. FOR YOU IT MIGHT BE DIFFERENT. BUT WHY ARE YOU

REPEATING FALSE NUMBERS?

Q: WELL, IF YOU WILL FORGIVE ME, YOUR MAJESTY, THESE NUMBERS ARE NUMBERS THAT ARE BRUNTED ABOUT WHETHER WE ASK THE QUESTIONS OR NOT. SHAH: BUT IT IS NOT TRUE* THE PURPOSE OF MY QUESTION REALLY, YOU KNOW WHAT PUBLIC IS IN THE UNITED STATES? YOU MUST KNOW THAT PUBLIC OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES HAS IN MANY WAYS A SOMEWHAT AWKWARD VIEW OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN IRAN, AND I'M WONDERING WHAT YOU THINK YOU CAN DO ABOUT IT?

A: SHAH: I DON'T THINK THIS IS THE PUBLIC OPINIO OF THE UNITED STATES.SOME SECTIONS MAYBE.

Q: YOU DENY IT--THE CHARGES ARE MADE AGAIN. YOU DENY IT AGAIN AND THE CHARGES ARE MADE AGAIN

Q: WHY DO THESE CHARGES KEEP COMING UP?

A: SHAH: I'M ASKING BEGIN UNDERLINE YOU END UNDERLINE THIS QUESTION.

Q: THE REASONS I ASKED THE QUESTION IS BECAUSE AN INTERNATIONAL GROUP OF JURISTS . . .

A: SHAH: ALWAYS IN THE SAME PUBLICATIONS.

Q: WELL, THIS WAS NOT THE SAME PUBLICATION, SIR. (SHAH: USUALLY* USUALLY*) THIS WAS AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL. THIS WAS UNCLASSIFIED

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A NEW GROUP. (SHAH: YES, BUT WE KNOW ABOUT THEIR PAST BUT I AM NOT GOING TO ELABORATE ON THAT.)

Q: I MEAN, IS THERE SOMETHING DISREPUTABLE ABOUT THEIR PAST?

A: SHAH: NAH . . . MAYBE.

Q: YOUR MAJESTY, COULD I FOLLOW THAT UP SLIGHTLY, BUT GET AWAY FROM THE NUMBERS JUST A BIT? ONE OF THE RECURRING THINGS THAT COMES UP FOREVER IS THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT SYSTEMATICALLY RESORTS TO TORTURE AS A METHOD OF MAINTAINING CONTROL. CAN YOU COMMENT ON THAT?

A: SHAH: YES, I CAN COMMENT ON THAT. I TOLD YOU MANY TIMES BEFORE, THAT WE DON'T NEED TO TORTURE PEOPLE ANYMORE; WE ARE USING THE SAME METHODS THAT SOME OF THE VERY HIGHLY DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD ARE.

Q: AND WHAT ARE THOSE?

A: SHAH: PSYCHOLOGICAL METHODS. WE PUT THEM IN FRONT OF

CONFESSIONS. WHEN FACED WITH THE CONFESSIONS OF THEIR COMRADES
THEY TELL US EVERYTHING, OBVIOUSLY.

Q: SIR, PERHAPS THERE IS A MISUNDERSTANDING HERE. YOU
SAID YOU HAVE NO POLITICAL PRISONERS. THEN YOU WENT ON TO SAY THAT
YOU HAVE GOT PEOPLE WHO ARE MARXISTS WHO OWE NO POLITICAL
ALLEGIANCE TO THIS COUNTRY. I THINK THAT IS THE DEFINITION OF
A POLITICAL PRISONER, IN OUR COUNTRY.

A: SHAH: WELL, IN YOUR COUNTRY, MAYBE, BUT IN YOUR
COUNTRY COMMUNISM IS OUTLAWED.

Q: THANK YOU VERY MUCH, YOUR MAJESTY.

Q: I WONDER BEFORE WE BREAK UP IF WE CAN ASK THE
SECRETARY OF STATE IF HE HAS ANY COMMENTS TO MAKE ON HIS TALKS
WITH YOUR MAJESTY?

KISSINGER: WELL, WE REVIEWED THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION
AND AS WE ALWAYS DO IN A SPIRIT OF GREAT CORDIALITY AND
GENERAL AGREEMENT ON THE MAJOR PROBLEMS AS WELL AS A NUMBER
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OF INDIVIDUAL ITEMS. I THINK THE TALKS WERE EXTREMELY
CONSTRUCTIVE. WE ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO OUR RELATIONSHIP
WITH IRAN AS WELL AS TO THE CRUCIAL ROLE THAT IRAN
PLAYS WITH THE SECURITY AND BALANCE OF THIS ENTIRE REGION.

Q: THANK YOU, SIR.
WINKLER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, PRESS CONFERENCES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 AUG 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976SECTO20064
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760305-0422
From: SECRETARY TEHRAN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760875/aaaacnlh.tel
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Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION PRS
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 12
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ellisoob
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21 JUL 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <21 JUL 2004 by hattaycs>; APPROVED <27 JUL 2004 by ellisoob>
Review Markings:

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Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESS CONFERENCE: SHAH OF IRAN AND HENRY A KISSINGER, NOWSHAHR, IRAN, AUGUST 6, 1976 NOTE: TEXT SHOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE TO PRESS AT DE
TAGS: OVIP, PFOR, IR, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (PAHLAVI, MOHAMMAD REZA)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006